

# Roman Baroque silver for the Patriarchate of Lisbon

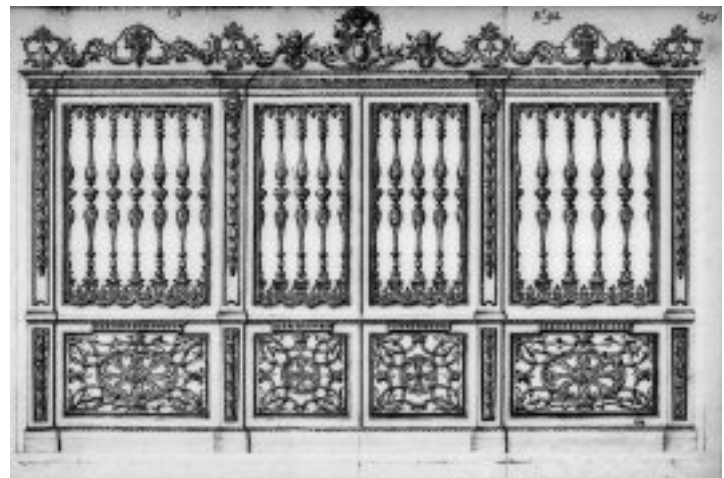
by TERESA LEONOR M. VALE

THE THREE MAJOR groups of Roman Baroque silver commissioned during the reign (1706–50) of John V of Portugal were made respectively for the chapel of St John the Baptist in the church of S. Roque in Lisbon,<sup>1</sup> for the basilica of the Royal Palace of Mafra, and for the Patriarchate of Lisbon. Elevated to the status of the Patriarchate basilica on 7th November 1716 by Clement XI's papal bull '*In supremo apostolatus solio*', and finally consecrated on 13th November 1746, the Patriarchate was particularly cherished by the king and consequently greatly enriched with works of art, among them many outstanding silver objects. These were commissioned for the building even before those for Mafra and commissions continued throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, at the same time that the silver for the chapel of St John the Baptist was being made.<sup>2</sup>

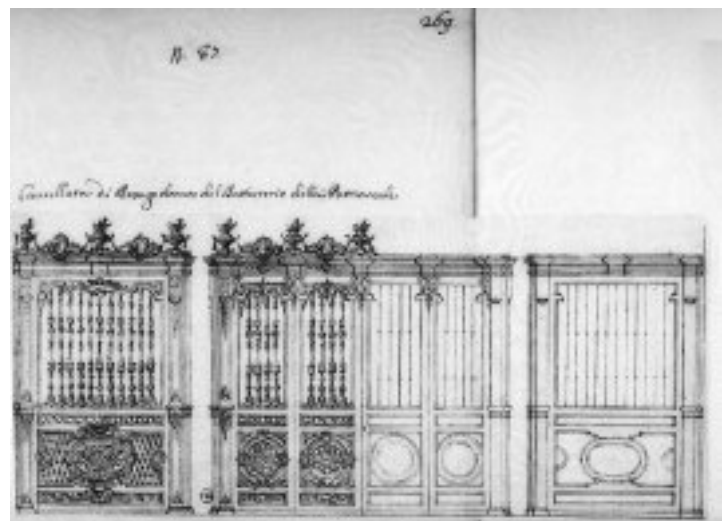
From the outset, the quantity and quality of the silver objects belonging to the Patriarchate were considered so extraordinary that a special room attached to the church itself was used to store it, called *Cazas de guardar Pratas de uso da Santa Igreja* according to the inscription on the architectural plan of the Patriarchate complex, datable to c.1755.<sup>3</sup>

Most commissions for works of art, and particularly for silver, were concentrated in the late 1730s and the early 1740s. These were the most important commissions made by John V for any ecclesiastical building. The works began to arrive in Lisbon in February 1742, revealing the magnificence demanded by the 'Magnânimo' (as John V was known), but also a concern – an obsession even – with imitating practices observed and decoration used in papal Rome.

Several monumental grilles were sent to Lisbon from Rome for the various chapels of the church, obviously inspired by Roman models and made by Roman metal workers as demanded by Lisbon: a font with a cover opulently ornamented with bronze; four altar sets, two made by Antonio Arrighi (1687–1776) in the 1730s and two made by Filippo Tofani and by Francesco Giardoni in the 1740s; several reliquaries; thirteen silver statues of the Apostles; lamps and a great many objects related to the church's liturgical function. From Rome too came a silver-gilt statue of the Immaculate Conception and a relief representing the Virgin and Child in gilt bronze.<sup>4</sup> Like the grilles, they too were the work of silversmiths. Antonio Arrighi made the grilles for the chapel of the



28. Drawing of the grilles for the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, Patriarchate, Lisbon, to be made by Matteo Piroli. 1745. Black ink on paper. (Weale Album, MS 497, fol.295, no.94, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris).



29. Drawing of the grilles for the chapel of the Baptistry of the Patriarchate, Lisbon, to be made by Andrea Valadier and Luigi Valadier. 1745. Black ink on paper. (Weale Album, MS 497, fol.269, no.87, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris).

I would like to thank Jennifer Montagu for reading this article and for discussing its contents with me.

<sup>1</sup> For the silver commissioned for the chapel of St John the Baptist, see T.L.M. Vale: 'Eighteenth-century Roman silver for the chapel of St John the Baptist in the church of S. Roque, Lisbon', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 152 (2010), pp.528–35.

<sup>2</sup> For the silver commissioned for Mafra, see *idem*: "'só para ostentação da magestade, e grandeza'". Aproximação à encomenda de ourivesaria barroca italiana para a basílica de Nossa Senhora e Santo António de Mafra', *Revista de Artes Decorativas* 2 (2008), pp.19–44.

<sup>3</sup> The plan is in the National Library of Portugal; see M.T. Mandroux-França: 'La

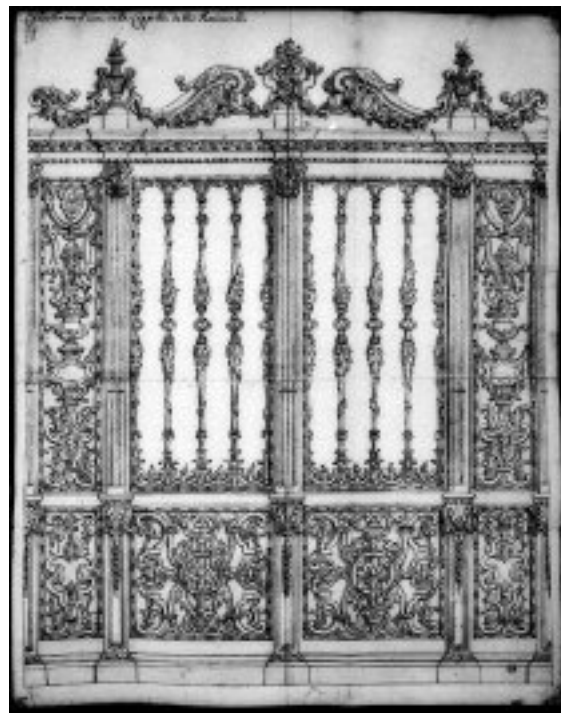
Patriarcale du Roi Jean V de Portugal', *Colóquio. Artes* 83 (1989), p.36; this and two further articles by the same author are fundamental to the study of the Lisbon Patriarchate; *idem*: 'A Patriarcal do Rei D. João V', in exh. cat. *Triunfo do Barroco*, Lisbon (Centro Cultural de Belém) 1993; and *idem*: 'La Patriarcale del re Giovanni V di Portogallo', in S.V. Rocca and G. Borghini, eds.: *Giovanni V di Portogallo e la Cultura Romana del suo Tempo*, Rome 1995.

<sup>4</sup> See T.L.M. Vale: 'A Estátua de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Patriarcal de Lisboa e a eleição de modelos pictóricos para obras de escultura, num texto de João Frederico Ludovice', *Artis – Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa* 7–8 (2009), pp.317–32; and *idem*: 'Di bronzo e d'argento: sculpture del

high altar; Matteo Piroli (1701–77) made those for the chapel of the Holy Sacrament (Fig.28); Giovanni Paolo Zappati (1691–1758), almost certainly with the co-operation of his brother Giuseppe (an established metalworker in Rome since 1728), made the grilles for the chapel of the Holy Family; and Andrea Valadier (1695–1759) and his son Luigi (1726–85) made those for the Baptistery (Fig.29). The Florentine Antonio Montauti (c.1685–1746), established in Rome, made the grilles for the chapel of the Immaculate Conception (Fig.30), although these were not a complete success. The silver statue of the Immaculate Conception was made by the silversmiths and brassworkers Giuseppe Gagliardi (1697–1749) and his son Leandro (1729–1804)<sup>5</sup> in their Roman workshop in vicolo della Campanella ai Banchi, following the drawings (Fig.32) and models of Giovanni Battista Maini (1690–1752), as has been established by Jennifer Montagu.<sup>6</sup> The bronze relief of the Virgin and Child, ordered in March 1745 to replace a marble relief by Montauti that had been broken en route from Rome to Lisbon was made from drawings and models by Maini (Fig.33) by the silversmith and founder Francesco Giardini (1692–1757) and his son Giuseppe (1720–84). Francesco Giardini was also responsible for the beautiful bronze ornaments in the Baptistery (Fig.31).

All these spectacular works disappeared in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 and its immediate aftermath, so they can be studied only through written and visual sources. Among the former the most important are the manuscripts in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, including the account books of the Portuguese embassy in Rome. Owing to the concern of the ambassador Manuel Pereira Sampaio (1691–1750) to register all payments made in the name of the Portuguese Crown, works from the 1740s are particularly well recorded.<sup>7</sup> Correspondence provides further documentation on the Italian silver in the Patriarchate.

Among the visual sources for the silver is the drawings collection of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga and of the Secção de Iconografia of the National Library of Portugal in Lisbon, but the most important is the so-called Weale Album (named after its former English owner, John Weale).<sup>8</sup> This volume, which was long believed lost, is in the library of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris.<sup>9</sup> The album constitutes a detailed record, both written and drawn, of the commissions of Italian works of art for the Patriarchate as well as for the chapel of St John the Baptist. Entitled the *Libro degli Abozzi de Disegni delle Commissioni che si fanno in Roma per Ordine della Corte*, it was compiled for Manuel Pereira Sampaio and is a fundamental source for our understanding of John V's commissions from the 1740s and enables us to reconstruct the appearance of the lost silver of the Patriarchate. As to the attribution of the drawings, as Montagu observed, many of them do not seem to have been made by the silversmiths themselves and are the work of Giovanni Bettati.<sup>10</sup>



30. Drawing of the grilles for one of the chapels of the Patriarchate, Lisbon, to be made by Antonio Montauti. 1745. Black ink on paper. (Weale Album, MS 497, fol.303, no.96, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris).



31. Design for a baptismal font for the Baptistery of the Patriarchate, Lisbon, to be made by Francesco Giardini. 1745. Black ink on paper. (Weale Album, MS 497, fol.273, no.88, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris).

Settecento italiano nella magnifica Patriarcale di Lisbona', *Arte Cristiana* 100 (2012), pp.57–66.

<sup>5</sup> Documents show that it was initially supposed to have been made by Antonio Arrighi; see Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (cited hereafter as LBA), MS 49-VIII-24, fol.4.

<sup>6</sup> See J. Montagu: *Gold, Silver and Bronze. Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, New Haven and London 1996, pp.158–60.

<sup>7</sup> Some of these account books are duplicated, one intended for the Portuguese embassy in Rome (with the indication 'resta in computisteria'), and the other to be sent to Lisbon (with the indication: 'si manda in Lisbona').

<sup>8</sup> See M.T. Mandroux-França: 'Rome, Lisbonne, Rio de Janeiro, Londres et Paris: Le Long Voyage du Recueil Weale, 1745–1995', *Colóquio. Artes* 109 (1996), pp.5–22.

<sup>9</sup> MS 497.

<sup>10</sup> J. Montagu: 'I modelli degli argentieri', in G. Barucca and J. Montagu, eds.: exh. cat. *Ori e Argenti. Capolavori del '700 da Arrighi a Valadier*, Urbino (Palazzo Ducale) 2007, p.53. A particularly clear example of this is provided by the drawings of a lamp made by Francesco Smitti (no.56, p.173), and another by Francesco Beislach (no.63, p.189), which were both clearly drawn by Bettati; for Bettati, see J. Winter: 'Further drawings from Valadier's workshop: The silver designs of Giovanni Bettati', *Apollo* 133 (May 1991), pp.320–22.





32. *Immaculate Conception*, by Giovanni Battista Maini. 1744. Black chalk on paper, 19.2 by 13.2 cm. (Private collection).

The first mention of works made for Portugal by the Arrighi family can be found in the account books of their workshop, and relates to the Patriarchate. On 23rd December 1726 – before the commissions for the basilica at Mafra began – an elaborate silver decoration for the base of a cross was completed. It was decorated with a half-figure of the Virgin of Sorrows with vegetal motifs, including a palm and a branch of a plane tree, both of them emblems of the Patriarchate, which was dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption.<sup>11</sup> This was followed by another, much larger commission: a complete altar set for the church's high altar.

It has been suggested that John V ordered a silver-gilt altar set for the Patriarchate through his ambassador, the Franciscan José Maria da Fonseca Evora (1690–1752),<sup>12</sup> although the commission was surely made during the time José Correia de Abreu was in

Rome charged with running the Portuguese Academy c.1720–25. Following the break in diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Holy See in 1728, Antonio Arrighi moved to Florence with the specific aim of continuing to execute John V's commissions in that city, which testifies to their importance. By May 1732 diplomatic relations had been restored, so José Correia de Abreu (by then working for the Secretary of State in Lisbon but well aware of events in Rome) suggested that Fonseca Evora send to Lisbon all the pieces that were finished, and that Arrighi should return to Rome to complete the rest of the set.

In these years, apart from this altar set of a cross and seven candlesticks (usually these are six; the extra one was used for the celebration of a Pontifical mass), Arrighi also made four silver vases, partially gilt, and ornamented with reliefs, which were most probably intended to complement the decoration of the high altar of the basilica. This was eventually augmented by two groups – twelve ordered in 1724 and ten larger ones, ordered in 1736 – and eight statues of saints and one of the Virgin that were being made in May 1736.<sup>13</sup>

Arrighi's altar set was much lauded in Italy, as José Correia de Abreu mentioned in a letter sent from Lisbon to Fonseca Evora on 13th May 1732, in which he expresses his delight that the altar set had been admired in Rome, as had been his hope when he ordered it in the name of the king.<sup>14</sup> This altar set was also seen by Francesco Valesio when it was exhibited at the Roman palace of Cardinal Cienfuegos, representative of the Holy Roman Empire to the Pope, and he mentioned it in his *Diario di Roma* as the most beautiful set of its kind: 'The beautiful candlesticks and a silver-gilt cross of exquisite design and of remarkable size made for the king of Portugal [. . .] can now be seen in Cardinal Cienfuegos's palace'.<sup>15</sup>

Another contemporary (1732) description of the altar set was written by Father Benvenuto Benvenuti, although he warns the reader:

It is impossible [. . .] to represent with mere words, and to express in adequate language the majesty, the unexpected appearance, that [these works] have on the eyes of those who behold them, and the richness of the precious material, and the nobility of the new design, and the architectural grandeur of the work, and more than anything the number, groups, the movement and sacred significance of all these statues, and bas-reliefs, which without any confusion, indeed with admirable order and symmetry, form their chief ornament.<sup>16</sup>

Benvenuti's description – of nine candlesticks, rather than the seven originally commissioned (this may well have been an extra pair to be used on sidetables placed on either side of the

<sup>11</sup> Rome, Archivio di Stato (cited hereafter as ASR), Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9, fols.88–91v. All the documents concerning Arrighi in this archive were shown to me by Jennifer Montagu, to whom I am deeply grateful, before the publication of her book *Antonio Arrighi, a silversmith and bronze founder in Baroque Rome*, Todi 2009. Around the time of this first work, Arrighi made a pyx and a covered bowl, presumably also for the Patriarchate; ASR, Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9, fols.93–94, mentioned by Montagu, *op. cit.*, p.26.

<sup>12</sup> See exh. cat. *Le Triomphe du Baroque*, Brussels (Palais de Beaux-Arts) 1991, p.278; and M.M. Calado: 'Arte e Sociedade na Época de D. João V', Ph.D. diss. (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova, Lisbon, 1995), I, p.33.

<sup>13</sup> On these pieces, see ASR, Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9, fols.61v–62 and 100–01v; and *ibid.*, busta 229.15, fols.49–62v and 63–64; see Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.29–31; see also LBA, MS 49–IX–25, fol.4.

<sup>14</sup> Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (cited hereafter as LBNP), Secção de Reservados, Fundo Geral, MS 41, no.7, doc.52, fols.1v and 2v.

<sup>15</sup> 'Gli bellissimi candelieri e croce d'argento dorato di esquisito lavoro e di straordinaria grandezza fatti lavorare dal re di Portogallo [. . .] ora si vedono nel palazzo del Cardinale Cienfuegos'; F. Valesio: *Diario Romano*, Milan 1979, V, p.454 (1st ed., Rome 1729–36).

<sup>16</sup> 'Non si può mai [. . .] rappresentare con morti caratteri, ed esprimere con termini sufficienti quella maestosa, inaspettata comparsa, che fanno agli occhi di chi le vagheggia, e la ricchezza della preziosa materia, e la nobiltà del nuovo disegno, e la grandiosa architettura di tutta l'Opera, e più d'ogni altra cosa il numero, i gruppi, le azioni, e misteriosi significati di quelle tante statue, e bassi-relievi, che senza minima confusione, anzi con ammirabile ordinanza, e simmetria formano il principale ornamento'; B. Benvenuti: *Distinto Ragguaglio del Disegno, e Lavoro de'Famosi Candellieri Fabbricati in Firenze per Ordine della Sacra Real Maesta di Giovanni V. Re di Portogallo*, Florence 1732, p.3. This rare booklet is transcribed almost in its entirety in Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), as an Appendix and it was

altar)<sup>17</sup> – underlines the remarkable aspects of Arrighi's altar set, which had the wider purpose of demonstrating Portuguese power at the time, the extent of its empire, and the absolute fidelity of John V and his people to the Catholic faith. He also remarked on the sculptural character of the pieces,<sup>18</sup> the quantity of gems and their remarkable size: the cross was nine *palmi* high and six *palmi* wide.<sup>19</sup> Benvenuti touches on the set's rich iconographic programme, and transcribes the inscriptions, mainly quotations from the Old Testament.<sup>20</sup> The artist is also identified in his text:

It is also worth noting the exceptional innate modesty of the craftsman, whose name, which will be immortalised by such a work, should be recorded in a suitable place. It is notable that he wished to place it on the lowest part of the pedestal, on an open book, that explains the figure in the group on the left representing Heresy, where, confusingly one sees these words in Latin: *Antonius Arrighi Romanus inventit, modellavit, & sculpsit Romae, & Florentiae, Anno 1732*.<sup>21</sup>

Portuguese writers also commented on Arrighi's magnificent altar set as being of national importance. Father João Bautista de Castro, the author of *Mappa de Portugal*, wrote that, among the very rich objects in the Patriarchate, the altar set was truly exceptional, and, as a good Portuguese, he particularly praised its decoration of precious stones.<sup>22</sup>

The payments made to the Arrighi workshop by the Portuguese Crown began in the late 1720s, increased during the 1730s, and only ended with the king's death in 1750. Yet it is extremely difficult to know to which pieces these payments correspond because, owing to the immense amount of work in progress, Arrighi's receipts merely say that the payments were for 'works made or to be made' (*lavori che si fanno*, *lavori fatti e da farsi*, etc.), and the same is true of the embassy's account books. Even cross-referencing the information between these manuscripts<sup>23</sup> and the Arrighi workshop's registers does not help to calculate the precise payment received for each of the works, in particular those made for the Patriarchate.

The designer, as opposed to craftsman, of the altar set, apparently determined by the inscription on the book held by the allegorical figure of Heresy in Benvenuti's description, is not completely confirmed, and the possibility that drawings were sent from Lisbon is something to be considered, especially in view of the complexity of the iconographic programme, as discussed by Montagu.<sup>24</sup> The obvious candidate as designer is Johann Friedrich Ludwig (1673–1752), known in Portugal as João Frederico Ludovice, a German founder and silversmith who went to Rome (where he was involved in several major works



33. *The Virgin and Child*, by Giovanni Battista Maini. 1745. Black chalk with white highlights on ochre washed paper, 31.5 by 21.5 cm. (Private collection, Malta).

in Jesuit churches, in particular the monumental altar of St Ignatius in the Gesù, made under the supervision of Andrea Pozzo in the late seventeenth century), who came to Lisbon in 1700. Some years later he took up architecture and became in effect the artistic director of John V's reign. However, the present writer could find nothing among the documents to establish a connection between Ludovice and the altar set made by Arrighi for the Patriarchate.

A second altar set was also made in the Arrighi workshop during the 1730s, evidently a much simpler one, and much cheaper than the first. This is described in considerable detail in the workshop's registers. The payments are dated from 1733 and 1734, and the set was probably delivered to the Portuguese embassy in Rome in December 1735.<sup>25</sup>

generously sent to me by Jennifer Montagu, to whom I again extend my thanks.

<sup>17</sup> This was done in the chapel of St John the Baptist where, apart from two altar sets, there was a pair of candlesticks intended for a small *'credenza'*.

<sup>18</sup> Benvenuti, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>20</sup> The transcriptions are from the books of the Prophets Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, from Deuteronomy and the Song of Solomon; *ibid.*, pp.6 and 12.

<sup>21</sup> *'Si rende in ultimo degna d'osservazione la singolare innata modestia dell'Artefice, che obbligato ad eterna memoria di una tanta Opera ad incidere il proprio nome in luogo degno. E ragguardevole, ha voluto collocarlo nell'infimo, e più abietto del piedistallo, cioè nel libro aperto, che spiega quella figura del gruppo a sinistra rappresentante l'Eresia, ove confusamente si leggono queste parole latine: Antonius Arrighi Romanus inventit, modellavit, & sculpsit Romae, & Florentiae, Anno 1732'*; *ibid.*, p.9.

<sup>22</sup> J.B. de Castro: *Mappa de Portugal*, Lisbon 1758, V, ch.II, pp.291–93; Friar Cláudio

da Conceição, writing some years after the earthquake, and presumably following de Castro's text, confirmed that the king had ordered Arrighi to make the magnificent altar set, considered unique and exceptional of its kind, in Italy in 1732; C. da Conceição: *Gabinete Histórico*, Lisbon 1823, X, pp.141–43.

<sup>23</sup> Payments to Arrighi can be found in several volumes in the Biblioteca da Ajuda: MS 46–XIII–9, MS 49–VII–13 (1728–33), MS 49–VIII–12 (1739–41), MS 49–VIII–13 (1742–44), MS 49–VIII–14 (1745), MS 49–VIII–15 (1746), MS 49–VIII–16 (1747), MS 49–VIII–17 (1748), MS 49–VIII–18 (1749–50), MS 49–VIII–20 (1750), MS 49–VIII–21 (1751), MS 49–VIII–22 (1751–52), MS 49–IX–22, MS 49–IX–25 and MS 49–IX–31.

<sup>24</sup> Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.28.

<sup>25</sup> A detailed description of the piece can be found in ASR, Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9, fols.101v–03, and busta 229.15, fols.37–41v, and was published in Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.212–13 and 249–51.



On Saturday 7th March 1744, the Portuguese newspaper *Folheto de Lisboa Ocidental* reported the arrival from Rome of a ship carrying ten candlesticks that had been made for the Patriarchate. They were described as '*lisos antigos de Basilica*', implying that they were plain and undecorated.<sup>26</sup> Although nothing is said about their dimensions, they were probably quite large, as they were called '*tocheiros*', the Portuguese equivalent to the Italian '*torcieri*', used only for monumental candlesticks; those that were part of an altar set, or single candlesticks, would have been called '*castiçais*'. In March 1744, ten such candlesticks were being made in Rome, surely substantial works, like the famous pair by Giuseppe and Leandro Gagliardi made for the chapel of St John the Baptist in San Roque, but without the elaborate decoration, and probably similar to those found in the basilica of Mafra or in the apse of S. Ignazio in Rome.

Another exceptional piece, a multiple reliquary, is also recorded in the *Folheto de Lisboa Ocidental*, which on Saturday 12th December 1744 reported that His Royal Majesty ordered that the so-called sanctuary ('*santuário*'), recently arrived from Rome, be placed on an altar in the chapel on the Epistle side, in front of the organ. It contained 873 relics of saints, each inside a silver reliquary the size of a ten '*reis*' coin, arranged according to the order of the saints' feast days, and on each saint's day a silver sunburst was placed around the appropriate reliquary.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout his reign, John V ordered a great number of relics from Rome and commissioned a considerable number of reliquaries. When the basilica of Mafra was consecrated – in a solemn ceremony that lasted for several days – it contained no less than fifty-four reliquaries, all from Rome, while for the small chapel of St John the Baptist in San Roque eight very large reliquaries were commissioned, four of which survive.

We have no explanation as to why two further Italian altar sets for the Patriarchate were commissioned in Rome, when two already existed, but most probably they were intended for different altars rather than for the high altar. On 1st May 1746 readers of the *Mercúrio Histórico de Lisboa* could learn that a silver-gilt altar set, consisting of a cross and seven candlesticks, the larger pair six and a half *palmi* high made by the silversmith Filippo Tofani (1694–1767), had just arrived from Rome.<sup>28</sup>

On 13th November 1746 Tofani was paid 5,013 *scudi romani* by Father António Cabral (a Jesuit priest in the service of the Portuguese Crown in Rome) for six candlesticks, rather than seven, but they are certainly the Tofani set.<sup>29</sup> Marie Thérèse Mandroux-França has identified a drawing belonging to the Secção de Iconografia of the National Library of Portugal as one of these same candlesticks because it shows the Patriarchate arms on its base and a central medallion depicting the Virgin of the

Assumption, to whom the basilica was dedicated,<sup>30</sup> but there is no reason why it should be for one of Tofani's candlesticks rather than for any others for the same church.

Finally, a fourth altar set was commissioned from Francesco Giardoni, which, according to Chracas's *Diario Ordinario* of 4th September 1745, was not completely finished.<sup>31</sup>

Together with the Tofani set, silver-gilt statues of the Apostles arrived in Lisbon, also made by Tofani, after drawings by Johann Friedrich Ludwig, according to the *Mercúrio Histórico de Lisboa* of 21st of May 1746.<sup>32</sup> For these 'Statues of the Apostles, single, in silver gilt, cast all in one piece, with rich draperies [. . .] each 5 *palmi* high and with octagonal bases also of silver gilt', Tofani received 7,467 *scudi romani* on 13th November 1746.<sup>33</sup> This payment was also made through Father Cabral and not through the Portuguese embassy in Rome, which is strange, considering the number of payments that can be found in the embassy's account books.

It is documented that there were in fact thirteen statues, not twelve, with a St Paul added to make up the number.<sup>34</sup> According to Tofani, these were made as light as possible, allowing for the fact they would be constantly moved because it was intended that they should be displayed on the altar, six at a time. However, it seems that on festive occasions all thirteen were to be shown, together with the cross and candlesticks. This is suggested by a letter sent from Lisbon on 23rd January 1748 from Pedro António Virgolino to Francisco Mendes de Góis, agent of the Portuguese Crown in Paris, in which he attempted to clarify some aspects of a commission of silver from France.

In this letter, the agent in Paris is asked not to go ahead with an earlier commission of a set of silver statues of the twelve Apostles to be made by the silversmith Thomas Germain (1673–1748), because some maces and twelve gilded Apostles, intended to go with the candlesticks, had arrived from Rome. Virgolino adds that there had obviously been some confusion and that no further statues of the Apostles were required.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting that the Crown wished to acquire silver from both Rome and Paris simultaneously, not according to the usual division that ecclesiastical silver came from Italy and secular silver from France. Indeed the Apostles made by Tofani seem to have been placed with candlesticks made by Germain and not with those Tofani had made at the same time.

Among the drawings by the sculptor Giovanni Battista Maini – who worked extensively for Portugal and was highly regarded by the Crown, being the first choice of artist for various works – Montagu was able to identify some for a set of Apostles, including a St Paul, and linked these drawings to the silver Apostles for Lisbon.<sup>36</sup> A set of silver Apostles was made for

<sup>26</sup> See Evora, Biblioteca Pública de Evora (cited hereafter as BPE), Cod. CIV/1–9.

<sup>27</sup> BPE, Cod. CIV/1–9; the *Mercúrio Histórico de Lisboa*, recorded the same story; see Calado, *op. cit.* (note 12), I, p.34.

<sup>28</sup> See Mandroux-França 1989, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.49. Usually these altar sets consisted of a cross and six candlesticks; the inclusion of a seventh was due to a privilege granted to the Patriarchate. For Tofani, see C. Bulgari: *Argentieri, Gemmari e Orafi d'Italia*, Rome 1958–59, II; A.B. Calisconi: *Maestri Argentieri, Gemmari e Orafi di Roma*, Rome 1987; and E. Debenedetti, ed.: *Artisti e Artigiani a Roma I e II, degli Stati delle Anime del 1700, 1725, 1750, 1775*, Rome 2004–05. Apart from the works for the Patriarchate, Tofani also made six candlesticks (which no longer exist) for the ceremony of the exposition of the Holy Sacrament for the chapel of St John the Baptist of São Roque, a chalice and a pyx (now in the Cathedral Treasury) and a set of three altar cards for Coimbra Cathedral, now in the Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro, Coimbra.

<sup>29</sup> Bulgari, *op. cit.* (note 28), II, p.467.

<sup>30</sup> Mandroux-França 1989, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.49.

<sup>31</sup> L.A. Chracas: *Diario Ordinario* 4386 (4th September 1745), p.8; the altar set is mentioned among the documents related to the so-called 'Eredità Sampajo'; ASR (Not. 30, Cap. Uff. 29, busta 403, fols.198v–99 and in a shorter version, in the copy in the Archivio dell'Istituto Portoghese di S. Antonio, Rome (cited hereafter as AIPSAR), vol. E. I, int.14, no.32.

<sup>32</sup> See Calado, *op. cit.* (note 12), IX, p.D–25.

<sup>33</sup> '*Statue degli Apostoli, isolate, in argento dorato tutte d'un pezzo, ricche di panneggiature [. . .] alte 5 palmi l'una e con base ottagonale pure d'argento dorato*'; see Bulgari, *op. cit.* (note 28), II, p.467; see also A. Delaforce: *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal*, Cambridge 2002, p.191.

<sup>34</sup> AIPSAR, vol. E. I, int.14, no.30; see J. Montagu: 'Gagliardi versus Sampajo, the Case for the Defence', *Antologia di Belle arti. Studi Romani*, I, NS 67–70 (2004), p.87 and note 65. The register of payments made to this silversmith, in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, includes no reference to this work, but notes only the expenses incurred in material, gilding and the completion of two candlesticks for the chapel of St John the Baptist that had been begun by Lorenzo Pozzi, a task he passed on to

the Patriarchate by a certain 'Lourenço Maini'.<sup>37</sup> The possibility that Tofani's silver-gilt Apostles might have been based on drawings by Maini is strong, considering the large number of designs that Maini made for silver and bronze works during John V's reign.

A set of liturgical objects for use at christenings performed at the Patriarchate was made in Rome by the silversmith Francesco Smitti (1702–70),<sup>38</sup> who also worked on the silver for the chapel of St John the Baptist. The execution of these pieces – a box for phials of the holy oil and an accompanying dish, or salver, a vase for the salt and its dish, or salver, and a shell-shaped bowl – all in silver gilt, was under way by January 1745, when a record was made to maintain some control over the proliferation of commissions, and keep the authorities in Lisbon informed of their progress. That month, among the works in preparation, were the containers for holy oil, 'similar to those in the Basilica of St Peter's', 'a shell shaped silver-gilt cup to contain baptismal water', 'a silver-gilt plate (*tondino*) to hold holy oil' and 'a plate (*tondino*) with an oval silver box for the salt'.<sup>39</sup> The *Libro delle Canscelate [sic], Battistero et Altro* of 1747 contains a more complete description: 'a small square box for the holy oil, with bas-relief arabesque decoration [*alla Cinese*]' with a small group of clouds and cherubim heads with its little feet and inside two small vases for the said oil with compartments with which to lift it'.<sup>40</sup>

On 13th March 1727, Arrighi's shop was paid for a large pyx bearing the arms of the Patriarchate, decorated '*alla Cinese*' (arabesques in very low relief).<sup>41</sup> On 23rd April 1728 Arrighi was paid for making four altar cards (already finished and delivered), described in the account books of the family workshop.<sup>42</sup> Finally, on 15th December 1728, Antonio Arrighi completed and delivered two patriarchal mitres, one in silver and the other in gold, ornamented with gems and pearls and decorated so as to simulate embroidery.<sup>43</sup> A curious aspect of these exceptional pieces is the contribution of the embroiderer Giuliano Saturni, who made metal fringes and braid; he was a major figure in the textile world of settecento Rome. Some years later, he played a prominent role in the making of the vestments for the chapel of St John the Baptist.<sup>44</sup>

Between 1728 and 1732, two silver reliefs were also made for the Patriarchate, one of the Annunciation and the other of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, according to the registers of the Arrighi workshop.<sup>45</sup> The Annunciation, which might be identified today with a silver relief mounted on a gilt-bronze structure and with a frame attributed to Luigi Valadier, now in a private collection, is almost the only surviving piece of silver from the Patriarchate's magnificent collection.<sup>46</sup>



34. Monstrance made by Antonio Arrighi after designs by Giovanni Battista Maini. 1740s. Silver gilt, 72.5 by 31 by 21 cm. (Treasury, Lisbon Cathedral).

A silver-gilt monstrance, now in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Lisbon (Fig. 34), bears the mark of Antonio Arrighi and is decorated with motifs of grapes, symbolising the Eucharist.<sup>47</sup> This could well have been made for the Patriarchate and have been moved to Lisbon Cathedral, thereby surviving the earthquake. This piece displays the usual high technical quality of the works associated with the Arrighi workshop. Although stamped, the date is indecipherable but the monstrance is a very rare survival of this spectacular silverware.

Michele Gonnella, according to Bulgari, *op. cit.* (note 28), II, p.467; Gonnella was paid for this through Tofani; see LBA, MS 49-VIII-21, fol.164.

<sup>35</sup> Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros-França*, Maço 18, published in *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes. Documentos Relativos à Ourivesaria Francesa Encomendada para Portugal I* (1935), p.53.

<sup>36</sup> J. Montagu: 'Giovanni Battista Maini, draftsman and sculptor', in G. Scherf, ed.: *Dessins de Sculpteurs I. Troisièmes Rencontres Internationales du Salon du Dessin*, Paris 2008, p.43.

<sup>37</sup> See L.X. da Costa: *As Belas Artes Plásticas em Portugal Durante o Século XVIII*, Lisbon 1934, p.49, as mentioned in Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 36), p.46, note 38.

<sup>38</sup> Mandroux-França 1989, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.39. On Francesco Smitti, see Bulgari, *op. cit.* (note 28), II; Calissoni, *op. cit.* (note 28); and Debenedetti, *op. cit.* (note 28); Smitti also made for Portugal a processional cross, a silver-gilt lamp, two candle snuffers, four lanterns and six palio sticks that were used to support a canopy to be held over a dignitary: all these were for the chapel of St John the Baptist and all are lost. However, a silver box made for this chapel is in the Museu de São Roque,

Lisbon; see Vale, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.533, fig.27.

<sup>39</sup> 'Simili a quelle della Basilica di S. Pietro [. . .] una tazza a conchiglia d'argento dorato per prendere l'acqua Battesimale', 'un tondino d'argento dorato da tenere la scatola delli ogli santi' and 'un tondino con scatola d'argento ouato per il sale'; LBA, MS 49-VII-13a.

<sup>40</sup> 'Una cassetina per l'ogli santi quadra cisellata di basso rilievo alla Cinese con suo gruppetto sopra di nuvole e teste di cherubini, e mondo con sue zampette, e dentro due vasetti per li detti ogli con suo spartimento da leuare'; LBA, MS 49-IX-33, p.241.

<sup>41</sup> ASR, Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9 (Arm. M, no.9, part 4), fol.93.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, fols.94v–95.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, fols.98–98v; see also LBA, MS 49-IX-25, fol.4.

<sup>44</sup> See M. Tassinari: 'Capela de S. João Baptista. A Coleção Têxtil', in H. Oliveira and T.F. Morna, eds.: *Museu de São Roque*, Lisbon 2008, pp.260–67.

<sup>45</sup> ASR, Ospizi, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, busta 228.9, fol.62; and busta 228.8, fol.41.

<sup>46</sup> On this piece, see Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.118; and Delaforce, *op. cit.* (note 33), pp.323–24.

<sup>47</sup> See Montagu, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.115–17.